United Nations S/PV.4392 (Resumption 1)

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4392nd meeting

Friday, 19 October 2001, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Ryan	(Ireland)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenblatt

Agenda

The situation in Somalia.

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia (S/2001/963).

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01-59138 (E)

The meeting was resumed at 3.15 p.m.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Motomura (Japan): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to participate in today's discussion on this important issue. I would also like to thank the Representative of the Secretary-General and the Prime Minister of Somalia for their statements on the current situation in Somalia.

Let me begin by commending the Government of Djibouti for its painstaking efforts to assist the people of Somalia to resolve their conflict by peaceful means. Indeed, it was at the initiative of President Guelleh that the Somalia National Peace Conference was held in Arta, Djibouti, last year, which led to the eventual establishment of the Transitional National Government (TNG) in Somalia. Today's public meeting of the Security Council provides a valuable opportunity for interested Member States to review developments in Somalia over the past year.

Before I comment on the political developments and the humanitarian situation, I would like to announce today that the Government of Japan has decided to provide, through the United Nations, assistance amounting to $4.8 million in the fields of national reconciliation and humanitarian assistance. I will describe how this assistance will be used in the course of my remarks.

Deep-seated divisions among clans and the competing ambitions of clan-based armed groups have caused the people of Somalia unspeakable hardships, and pose the major obstacle to the reunification of the country. Although the TNG was established as a result of national reconciliation efforts with grass-roots participation, armed confrontation among the clans has not diminished, and the power configuration among them seems to be exceedingly fluid. Some warlords have established coalitions to fight against the TNG. At the same time, northern regions, "Somaliland" and "Puntland" still refuse to engage in dialogue with the TNG. They are also in political turmoil, with groups competing for internal political power in their own self-governments. Thus the situation throughout the country is still extremely fragile and volatile.

Japan has long advocated a comprehensive political settlement to the conflict and national reconciliation, with the goal of achieving a unified Somali State. In our view, the establishment of the TNG is but the first step in the daunting task of national rehabilitation. Building an effective, permanent and functioning representative Government will be far more difficult; and it can only be achieved with the commitment and agreement of the Somali people themselves, as well as with adequate assistance provided by the international community.

Under these circumstances, the rehabilitation of Somalia will require an approach that seeks to rebuild the Somali polity from the bottom up, including support to entities that emerge in different parts of the country through a participatory process. Japan thus attaches importance to enhancing the role of civil society in building peace and in the subsequent reconciliation process. Toward that end, I am pleased to announce today that Japan will contribute $500,000 for a project to be implemented by War-torn Societies Project, a non-governmental organization (NGO). The contribution will be made through the United Nations Trust Fund for Somalia.

Somalia has been ravaged by conflict, drought, flooding, epidemics, famine and the absence of governance. Many of its people have been displaced; all are suffering from grinding poverty. This grave humanitarian situation is, and indeed must be, of deep concern to the international community.

Japan pays high tribute to the brave and tireless efforts of the humanitarian personnel working in this unstable and challenging situation, and insists that they be adequately protected. The abduction by members of armed faction groups of NGO members and United Nations personnel from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in March of this year was a despicable crime and cannot be tolerated. The international community, and particularly the Security Council, should call upon all parties to acknowledge the impartiality of relief agencies and NGOs, and to cooperate with and ensure the safety of their personnel.

I would also like to commend the extremely effective and useful activities carried out by such United Nations humanitarian agencies as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

(UNHCR), the World Food Programme (WFP) and UNICEF, which are coordinated by the able direction of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. Japan, for its part, has been providing emergency assistance, mainly through the WFP and UNHCR, to help ease the plight of the Somali people.

Japan attaches great importance to the educational and training needs of children of displaced families. In addition to helping sustain their families, they will also have to assume the future tasks of national reconciliation and rehabilitation. I am therefore pleased to announce that Japan will provide — again through the United Nations Trust Fund — financial support in the amount of $3.9 million for the UNICEF project in Somalia, which provides children with learning opportunities and prepares them for the restoration of peace, law and order. In addition, Japan recently decided to provide emergency assistance amounting to $420,000 in response to the WFP's appeal for drought-relief assistance.

With respect to the request contained in the Security Council's presidential statement of 11 January 2001 — that the Secretary-General prepare a proposal for a post-conflict peace-building mission in Somalia — Japan supports the view expressed in the Secretary-General's recent report that, with the security situation being so uncertain, the establishment of such a mission at this time would be premature.

In the meantime, Japan will continue to closely follow the situation in Somalia. We stand ready to respond to urgent humanitarian and emergency needs as they arise.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Belgium. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. De Ruyt (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU). The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, as well as the European Free Trade Association country member of the European Economic Area — Iceland — align themselves with this statement.

The European Union warmly welcomes today's public debate on Somalia and the opportunity it provides for Member States to share their assessments of the situation in Somalia and their thoughts on the United Nations role both there and in the Horn of Africa as a whole.

I should like also to welcome among us Prime Minister Galaydh of the Transitional Government of Somalia and to thank him for his statement, which was very useful and informative.

The Transitional Government has been in place for nearly a year — that is, for a third of its mandate — and has had to confront many problems, as today's debate has shown. The European Union renews its appeal to the Transitional Government to pursue its efforts towards national reconciliation in a genuine spirit of compromise, by peaceful means and with due respect for all entities that have achieved a certain degree of stability. The EU encourages all parties in Somalia that have not participated in the Arta process to enter into a dialogue in the same genuine spirit of compromise, with a view to advancing and completing the reconciliation process among all Somalis.

The EU welcomes the creation of the National Commission for Reconciliation and Property Settlement. This Commission must function independently of the Government and constitute an important forum for dialogue under the ownership of all Somalis and with the support of the international community. As suggested by the Inter-Government Authority on Development (IGAD) Partners Forum, the functional cooperation between the various political and administrative entities represents an important confidence-building measure.

Regarding human rights, the EU believes that the crimes committed during the civil war at the end of the 1980s should not go unpunished. The administration of justice must be strengthened in order to make possible a fair trial for the perpetrators of those crimes.

The EU remains deeply concerned by the security situation in Somalia, and in Mogadishu in particular. Attacks against civilians and the staff of humanitarian organizations are unacceptable and must cease. Non-governmental organizations are doing exemplary work in difficult conditions, and we pay tribute to their efforts. The EU is also concerned by the presence of many anti-personnel mines in several regions. These mines present a great danger not only to the Somali population as a whole, but also to humanitarian staff working there. Thus it is important that the Mogadishu

airport and port be reopened, so that humanitarian aid can be brought in and also to avoid prolonging the political isolation of Somalia.

Allow me to address an issue that is very much in the news at the moment: terrorism. The EU urges the Transitional Government to cooperate with the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) concerning counter-terrorism and with the United States Government on this question. The EU is itself currently considering how best to help the Transitional Government respond to the counter-terrorism Committee's requests.

The situation in Somalia is closely linked to that of its neighbours. So that peace may be established in the Horn of Africa, the EU calls for the resumption of political contacts between the Transitional Government and its neighbours, particularly Ethiopia. States in the region should abstain from military involvement in Somalia or from taking any other initiative that could jeopardize that country's sovereignty, political independence and unity. Traffic in arms should also cease.

The EU calls once again on the countries involved to respect the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council. The European Union supports all ongoing regional efforts to find a political solution to the Somali question, particularly those of IGAD and of the Organization of African Unity. The EU agrees with the Secretary-General that coordination of efforts among external actors is still needed and that a consultative mechanism could be useful to that effect. The Secretary-General's idea of forming a committee of friends of Somalia is worth examining.

The EU takes note of the recommendations in the Secretary-General's report. At the beginning of this year, the Security Council had wanted a peace-building mission to be established in Somalia and had asked the Secretary-General to draw up a proposal to that end. The Secretary-General currently deems that at this stage, the conditions for sending such a mission not been met. Security concerns remain. We agree with the Secretary-General that a thorough review of the security situation has to be carried out. We are in favour of a new security assessment.

All parties to the conflict should redouble their efforts to bring about the right conditions for the deployment of international personnel. In parallel, individuals and countries that have influence on the parties involved should also act. New means should be put into play rapidly to bring Somalia out of its current impasse and to enable a lasting peace to be established.

The European Union, both collectively and through bilateral aid from its Member States, is participating in the reconstruction of the country. The Union is ready to examine possibilities for institution-building and support for good governance. We have taken note of the needs expressed by the Transitional Government regarding police training and the establishment of regional administrations, as envisaged in the Transitional National Charter.

A lasting solution for Somalia remains to be found. The parties must urgently pool their efforts in order for peace to be achieved. Peace must come to seem more attractive to the parties involved than the continuation of a latent conflict which has had such dire consequences for the population. We hope that the United Nations, the countries of the region and other countries interested in stability in the Horn of Africa will cooperate fully to this end.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Nigeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mbanefo (Nigeria): I should like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, and the Republic of Ireland, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. In the same vein, I would like to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Jean-David Levitte of France, for a very successful presidency in September.

I would like take this opportunity to felicitate Guinea, Cameroon, the Syrian Arab Republic, Bulgaria and Mexico on their election to the Council as non-permanent members for the period 2002-2003. Nigeria looks forward to working closely with them, as it has done with the outgoing members of the Council.

The important issue before the Council today is Somalia. The situation in Somalia continues to engage the attention of the international community, and our Organization in particular, as it has done over the past decade. In a presidential statement issued in November 1999, the Council reaffirmed its commitment to a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the situation in Somalia, bearing in mind respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and unity of Somalia, in accordance with the principles of the

Charter of the United Nations. The Council also expressed its concern at the absence of a central authority, which had exacerbated the dire political, economic and security situation in the country.

In considering the plight of this State Member of our Organization, and the way forward in resolving its problems, the Secretary-General, in fulfilment of a Council mandate, has rendered to the Council his most recent report on the situation in Somalia.

In the period between the issuance of the current report, contained in document S/2001/963, and the previous one, contained in document S/2000/1211, issued in December 2000, significant developments have occurred in Somalia. The internal political situation has evolved to the extent that the Transitional National Government (TNG), led by President Abdikassim Salad Hassan, has begun to take hold and put in place the infrastructures of administration and a functioning State. A vivid and eloquent example of this happy development is the presence among us of the Permanent Representative of Somalia. It is, without doubt, a good omen that, after many years of effective representation being in abeyance, Somalia is finally able to send an Ambassador to the United Nations. Mr. Ali Khalif Galaydh, the Prime Minister of Somalia, is also in this great Chamber today, participating in and listening to this debate on the situation in his country.

My delegation would like to reiterate its support for the peace process that has made the present situation possible. In this regard, Nigeria would like to pay tribute to President Guelleh of Djibouti for his dedicated and tireless peace initiatives with regard to Somalia, which have led directly to the establishment of the TNG. It is worthy of note and praise that this fruitful initiative enjoyed the support of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the European Union.

In the clearly daunting task of moving the peace process forward and creating a more stable environment in the country, the inclination of the TNG to reach out and bring on board all the parties yet to accept its authority and control over the entire country is most commendable. Nigeria believes that all Somalis, as stakeholders in the peace of their country, must put aside all parochial considerations and fully embrace dialogue. In the view of my delegation, this will pave the way for lasting peace, stability, national rehabilitation and reconstruction for Somalia. The leaders of Africa, at the thirty-seventh summit of the OAU, held in Lusaka, Zambia, in July 2001, affirmed this position. The summit reiterated Africa's commitment to the unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Somalia. It expressed its support for the Arta process and called on the TNG to intensify efforts to build upon it with the support of the United Nations, in cooperation with regional and subregional organizations.

On the issue of the humanitarian and development situation in Somalia, and the response to it by the international community, the Secretary-General's report offers a grim and disturbing assessment. Food security in the country, especially in the southern part, has deteriorated as a result of a combination of factors, such as drought and other natural causes. As a consequence, an estimated 750,000 people are in danger of starvation and therefore in need of international food assistance. This situation is compounded by the prevalence of diseases such as cholera, as well as a lack of water and basic infrastructure. Although the United Nations and its partners have contributed to alleviating the emergency situation, much remains to be done if the humanitarian and development challenges facing Somalia are to be fully confronted and the TNG is to be given a fighting chance of consolidating the peace in the country.

In this regard, it is particularly disturbing that, according to the Secretary-General's report, only $20.7 million — 16 per cent of the $126 million requested for the Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for 2001 — has been provided by Member States. This assistance, as we all know, is required for humanitarian, recovery and development activities in the country.

The Secretary-General's report also asserts that the security situation in Somalia has not improved since February, when an earlier security assessment of Mogadishu was undertaken. It concludes, in paragraph 72, that the time is not ripe for a United Nations post-conflict peace-building office for Somalia, as there is "no single authority in the country that can assure security and unimpeded access to the United Nations even in Mogadishu".

The question that may be asked is what the United Nations and the international community at large can and should do to see Somalia through this delicate and critical transition period. I am of the firm belief that the peace process must be given full support

and encouragement. In the view of my delegation, one definite way of manifesting such support would be through the mobilization of necessary material resources, as well as the taking of symbolic, yet powerful, steps on behalf of the peace process.

Peace must be made attractive and irresistible to all, including those who otherwise might have little interest in embracing it. Nigeria believes that the United Nations must lead the way and be in the vanguard of this effort. It must see post-conflict peace-building as an urgent challenge in Somalia if that country is to enjoy lasting peace.

In this regard, my delegation urges the Security Council to urgently undertake a fact-finding mission to Somalia in order to ascertain the situation on the ground. These are hopeful times for Somalia. Many of us have waited long for this moment. We must not allow this opportunity to slip away. Somalia must never again be allowed to witness the horrors of the recent past.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Yemen. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Al-Ashtal (Yemen) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to express our sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for this month, a presidency that will be distinguished by your dynamism and perseverance, for which you are well known. We also thank your predecessor, Mr. Jean-David Levitte, Ambassador of France, who guided the work of the Council in an excellent manner. I also welcome the Prime Minister of Somalia and the Representative of the Secretary-General.

Yemen is linked to Somalia by the fact that we share the same sea and have deep-rooted historical ties, reflected in a network of cultural, commercial, economic and political bonds. We live in a region where we affect and are affected by what happens to each of us.

The collapse of the central Government 10 years ago led not only to fragmentation, factionalism, the spread of anarchy and the erosion of the State institutions in Somalia, but also to the creation of instability in the region as a result of which the arms trade seems to be flourishing. Furthermore, terrorist organizations and groupings are growing in number, as are smuggling and piracy operations on the seas. Drug traffic has also spread, and the long Yemeni coast is full of helpless people who risk their lives to reach the safety of our shores. Amid this anarchy the brotherly people of Somali are experiencing a deterioration in their living standards, a lack of basic services and the spread of poverty and disease. We are indeed grateful to you, Mr. President, for convening this open debate on the deteriorating situation of Somalia at a time when the world seems to have grown accustomed to the collapse and indeed extinction of the Somali State.

We also thank the Secretary-General for his report on the situation in Somalia, as well as the efforts being made by the United Nations to restore peace and stability and to meet the basic and humanitarian needs of the Somali people.

The Arta process, which was hosted by Djibouti, is a bright spot in a series of sad events in Somalia represented by internal divisions, warring and violence among the factions. The Arta process has raised the flag of unity and peace. It has sought to bring together the largest number of civil society representatives and has emphasized dialogue as a way to restore peace and national unity and to rehabilitate the State. Because it represents an alternative to anarchy and war, it received wide popular support. The international community endorsed those steps. This was clearly evident in the participation of President Abdikassim Salad Hassan in the Millennium Summit and was a step towards restoring Somalia's sovereignty.

Today we agree with the Secretary-General that it is incumbent on us to pursue completion of the Arta process, despite the obstacles to the peace process and to the rebuilding of the State. We also wish to encourage dialogue between the Transitional National Government and Somali factions. In this regard, Yemen stands ready to make every effort to facilitate that dialogue, which must be supported by the neighbouring countries and regional organizations, including the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the European Union.

We look positively on the Secretary-General's proposal to set up a Committee of Friends of Somalia to emphasize ways and means to call attention to Somalia's needs in the area of national reconciliation, as well as to provide assistance in mobilizing funds for

reconstruction and development. We also support the proposal to establish a peace-building office in Somalia. We may also call for a fact-finding mission to Somalia. We emphasize once again the role of the United Nations, particularly the role of the Security Council, in deploying all efforts to help Somalia restore its sovereignty and national unity so that peace and stability prevail in that sister country.

The President: I thank the representative of Yemen for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Hussein (Ethiopia): I would like to take this opportunity first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We also welcome the fact that this open debate is taking place under your presidency. I also wish to thank last month's President, Ambassador Levitte of France, for the able way in which he led the Council's work. It goes without saying that both Ireland and France are friends not only of Ethiopia, but also of Africa. I just want to note that for the record.

Like other delegations before me, I welcome the Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr. Ali Khalif Galaydh. I am encouraged by the content of his statement.

A lot has been said here, and a lot has not been said. I would like to dwell more on the few things that have not been said.

If we look at the whole process that led to the Arta Peace Conference on Somalia, we see that there were, as some have indicated, previous processes, but, as has also been indicated, these processes were also very genuine. They took place in Djibouti. In fact, the first one on Somalia took place in 1991. It was held in Djibouti. Others were held in Ethiopia, Egypt, Kenya, Libya and Yemen. In Ethiopia's view, all these were genuine attempts to resolve the Somali question in the interest of the people of Somalia. We believed that they paved the way for what happened at Arta.

I want that also to be on the record, because some seem not to have that in their record, to judge from what they have stated. At least that was the implication — not by many, but by one or two speakers.

Ethiopia fully supported the Arta process from the beginning. I want it to be on the Council's record that even where the meeting took place was symbolic — the air-conditioned tent was provided by Ethiopia. It cost us more than $250,000. To many this may not seem like a lot of money, but for a poor country like Ethiopia it was. We continue to support the Arta process. We believe that that process was a step forward for peace and reconciliation in Somalia.

We worked very hard so that this process would not unravel. In fact, if we look at the IGAD member States, we see that Ethiopia played a very important, and at crucial times, leading role to ensure that all were on board.

IGAD's last position on this matter was adopted in Khartoum last November, when a head of State from Somalia took part in one of its meetings for the first time after 10 years' absence. So that there is no confusion, I would like to cite the gist of IGAD's position, contained in a resolution stating that the heads of State and Government:

> "1. *Affirm* that the Arta Peace Conference that resulted in the establishment of the Transitional Government for Somalia constituted a major achievement in the Somali peace process;
>
> "2. *Urge* the Transitional Government and all parties and administrations of Somalia to create the environment that would bring into the process those that did not participate at the Arta Conference with the objective of widening and deepening the process of national reconciliation;
>
> "3. *Insist* that the peace process in Somalia must continue and be completed through dialogue and not by resorting to the use of force;
>
> "4. *Encourage* Somalia's neighbours and the current Chairman of IGAD to establish a mechanism that would enable them to continue to assist the Somalis to achieve full peace, national reconciliation, and unity".

This is a point also taken in the Secretary-General's report.

The resolution continues:

> "5. *Affirm* the need for all necessary measures to be taken to ensure that the territory of Somalia is not used as a springboard by groups inimical to the peace and security of the subregion;

"6. *Reaffirm* IGAD's commitment to the unity and territorial integrity of Somalia;

"7. *Welcome* the participation of the Transitional Government of Somalia in the deliberations and activities of IGAD, bearing in mind that regular and continuing evaluation of progress towards peace and national reconciliation in the country will be carried out;

"8. *Urgently* call upon the international community to support the rehabilitation in Somalia through direct assistance to the Transitional Government and the regions which had established peace and stability through self-administration, as long as they are committed to the peace process." (*S/2001/120, annex II*)

Well, the implication of this summit position, which is the position of the region, including Somalia, is that if the Transitional Government has to be in place, then others who did not take part have to be on board. In fact an IGAD delegation was sent to Mogadishu to discuss this issue with the TNG and to continue this reconciliation process. At that time, for reasons known only to itself, the TNG rejected this. It referred to these groups as rebels, as warlords, and would not talk to them.

What happened as a result? Others did the same. They expressed rejection of the TNG; they said there was no such thing as a TNG, and therefore it was just another faction. So the TNG could go beyond this.

We have always been transparent. We have always been frank. I will not change that position today. I want the Council to know that for us in the region — in Ethiopia, in particular, and I can only speak for Ethiopia — we see that the Transitional Government itself is not of one mind. We believe that there are basically three groups. There are the extremists of *Al-Ittihad*, *Al-Islah* and the Muslim Brotherhood. There are also those who are ready for reconciliation. The first group, by the way, used to have what were called the Islamic courts and their militia, and they had longstanding, strong financial institutions through a number of activities. There is no need to go into the details; I think most members of the Council are familiar with them. There is a second group that is ready for reconciliation, but it lacks the financial and military muscle. There is a third group that shuttles between those two, and is used by either. Hence, when we talk with the TNG, there is no single group with which one can continuously take up the issues, as we have done.

We are ready to help in this situation. Norway suggested that Ethiopia should try to facilitate and use its influence. We will accept this suggestion. We are ready to do it. But when we speak of these realities, some in the TNG — I will not say "all" — do not like it; they are not comfortable with it. I would even say that there are others who one could say are more Catholic than the Pope; they even go beyond the TNG. We will not accept this.

We are not partial to anyone, whether the TNG, the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council, "Somaliland", "Puntland" or any other group. Ethiopia is not for the TNG; Ethiopia is not for the SRRC; Ethiopia is not for "Somaliland"; it is not for "Puntland". It is for Somalia and the people of Somalia.

At the moment we do not see, as the United States representative once said, any group or entity that has the political legitimacy and the support of everybody throughout Somalia. The Arta peace process is the best of the processes so far. But it is a still incomplete process that IGAD speaks of. By the way, the Transitional National Assembly and the Charter also speak about what came out of Arta. Even those who claim that we should not speak to this one or that one are not right. That is not what the Arta process said. We have the Charter; we have the positions.

Some have tried to pretend that the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council is supported by one country, that one country established it, that one country is behind it. That reference — let us take away all the pretences — is to Ethiopia. This is because that group met in a place called Awasa in southern Ethiopia. It was the first time Ethiopia had facilitated meetings for Somalis. They have met many times; we simply facilitated this.

The Foreign Minister of Somalia, Mr. Ismail Mohamoud Hurre, said of the SRRC last June:

> "Ethiopia is open to everyone. Many Somalis come to Addis Ababa and discuss matters with the Ethiopians. The SRRC are part of that. We are not averse to Ethiopia carrying on discussions with them, as it is all part of the reconciliation and peace process".

That was what the Foreign Minister of the TNG said.

Today the Prime Minister, Mr. Ali Khalif Galaydh, said that the Somali Government would welcome every positive effort by the neighbouring countries and the world community that can facilitate this process. He went on to say that they were prepared to engage those outside the Arta process through sustained dialogue and negotiations. We welcome this statement, but I do not welcome indications by delegations that any support for the SRRC or any connection to it is like revitalizing warlordism. We do not find this at all helpful for the reconciliation process. Nobody, least of all Ethiopia, which has the longest border with Somalia, wants to revive that.

The biggest problems of the last ten years have fallen on Ethiopia, a poor country. This includes terrorism, as well as taking up the burdens of our people, our brothers and sisters, who came from across the border. Next to Somalia, the largest concentration of Somalis in the Horn of Africa or anywhere in the world is in Ethiopia, where there are over 5 million Somalis, occupying more than one quarter of Ethiopian territory. One of the federated states includes more than one quarter of Ethiopia. That is where I myself come from. I am an ethnic Somali. There are more than 5 million of us. So, next to the Somalis of Somalia, the Ethiopians are the ones who are most affected and want the stability of Somalia.

However, our allegiance and support is for the people of Somalia. The TNG must encompass all Somalis, including those who, in the words of the IGAD summit, have not been part of the process. The Secretary-General's report and the Council on previous occasions have said that those who are not already on board have to be brought into the process.

Should we wait until all of them accept the peace process? No. We should engage those who are ready for reconciliation and peace, whether it is the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) or any other group or faction outside the TNG. We should disregard and isolate those who are not for peace. Somalia's reconciliation process will not be complete if we do not engage all these groups that I have mentioned.

There are one or two more points I would like to touch on before I conclude. We would like to call on the Security Council to enforce the arms embargo against Somalia. This has been stated by some. We have in the past brought attention to the fact that arms have been shipped into Somalia by air and by sea. This has made the situation in Somalia much worse and as a result we have been victims of terrorism carried out on our soil, deep inside Ethiopia, committed by groups coming from Somalia — Al-Itihad was one of them. They did not hide their identity and claimed responsibility for what they had done: explosions in several public buildings and mining and attacking rail and road transport. These groups did not cease to exist because it suddenly dawned on them that what they were doing was not good. They were stopped — at least until now — by actions taken by Ethiopia to defend itself after it was attacked. We took action in 1997 by destroying the terrorist bases inside Somalia. One of them was at Luuq. At least 26 multinationals were from outside the region. I can recall a number of them, most of whom are part of the same groups that make up Al-Qaida. Some may try to sell the idea that Al-Qaida and international terrorist groups are not in Somalia; we disagree. We have ample evidence. As we speak, my Government is taking action to provide security for more than one foreign embassy in Addis Ababa, as a result of threats made by these groups. We are not going to be like those who take ostrich-like actions. Some of you can afford to do that, as you are not neighbours of Somalia but live thousands of kilometres away. In that tranquillity, you can make statements that appear fine but, in reality, do not help the situation.

I would now like to touch upon one very serious issue, one of immediate concern to ordinary Somalis — a matter of life and death. Dire humanitarian needs can be due to several factors, but arise mainly as a result of the failure of the gu rains. These are the main rains that usually come in summer. Hundreds of thousands in Bakool, Bay, Gedo, Hiiraan and many parts of the northeast of Somalia need immediate assistance. We call upon the international community to assist if a tragedy is to be avoided there.

In Ethiopia, we already have, in our province in Warder, in the Degehabur, in Gode, and the surrounding areas, the thousands who have crossed into the Ethiopian part of the Somali region. These areas of Ethiopia themselves have also suffered. To the best of our ability, we are trying to assist in this particular case.

In conclusion, I would say, let us be positive. Look at some delegations, such as Norway, who have also accepted what I would call the legitimate concerns

of neighbouring countries. There is nobody to take action when such things as have happened several times take place over a border that is nearly 2,000 kilometres long. Another suffering country is Kenya. They will speak for themselves. Djibouti also has a border of about 70 kilometres with a very stable part of Somalia. Nonetheless, they have also been affected in one way or another.

So, when you look at this, I would appeal to the Council that the interest of the Somali people *in toto* should be seen. That is why we welcome all the positive steps that will be taken by the TNG within its capacity. I think we should not have any delusions that they are in a position, for example, to take actions against terrorism, even if they wished to, because, as I have said, there are some within the Government that are part of that problem.

The President: I thank the representative of Ethiopia for his kind words to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mekdad (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): It is my pleasure, Sir, to congratulate your friendly country, Ireland, and to congratulate you personally on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We thank you for providing this opportunity to Member States to deliberate once again on current developments in Somalia with a view to finding a solution to the tragedy of the Somali people, who for so long have suffered war and its destructive effects.

Allow us also to express our appreciation to Ambassador Levitte, the Permanent Representative of France, for his presidency of the Security Council last month. Allow us also to express our pleasure at the presence of the Prime Minister of the Transitional National Government in Somalia and his delegation, who are with us.

All statements before the Security Council today have been unanimous in stressing the need for more attention on the part of the international community, and the United Nations, in particular, to the continuing difficult situation in Somalia.

The Syrian Arab Republic believes that the ongoing tragedy of the brotherly Somali people ought to have come to an end long, long ago. The civil war visited upon Somalia for so many years has led to devastation in all fields: humanitarian, security, economic, social and cultural. While the international community and the United Nations have made strenuous efforts to find solutions to similar problems in other parts of the world — Africa, the Balkans and Asia — we note that the situation in Somalia has not received the necessary attention over the past decade.

The Somali people continue to suffer the scourge of war and its destructive effects. Dozens of resolutions and decisions of the United Nations addressing other conflicts and wars were not reduplicated in the case of Somalia. Where was Somalia when the United Nations and its various organs set out their positions on peacekeeping, post-conflict peace-building and the need to end massacres and violations of human rights?

In all the devastation visited upon Somalia, there was a glimpse of hope in the success of the Conference held in Arta, in the sister Republic of Djibouti, and presided over by President Ismail Omar Guelleh. The Conference drew together broad segments of Somali society. The Syrian Arab Republic welcomed the achievements of the representatives of the Somali people, who created the Transitional National Assembly and elected Mr. Abdikassim Salad Hassan President of the Somali Democratic Republic.

In his statement during the general debate of the General Assembly at its fifty-fifth session, Mr. Farouk Al-Shara', Minister for Foreign Affairs of Syria, stated that these two achievements were major pillars for the restoration of Somali state institutions. He called on the international community to redouble its efforts to help Somalis carry out the tasks of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

In solidarity with our brothers, the Somali people, the Arab Summit held in Amman on 26 and 27 March adopted a resolution calling on all factions and sectors of Somali society to cooperate to their utmost ability with the elected President and his Government to achieve security and stability and to ensure the territorial integrity, reconstruction and rehabilitation of Somalia. The Arab Summit set aside $54 million to reintegrate and resettle militia members and to restore state institutions. The Transitional National Government has made great efforts at various levels to ensure national reconciliation and to attract regional and world support for its work. In this context, the 37th Assembly

of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held in Lusaka, reaffirmed the commitment of the OAU to Somalia's territorial integrity, independence and unity. The OAU Council of Ministers stressed its support for Somalia's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity and for all efforts to create a National Commission for Reconciliation and Property Settlement.

My delegation has considered the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Somalia, contained in document S/2001/963 of 11 October 2001. We thank the Secretary-General and his Representative for their efforts in support of the Somali people. The report includes a great deal of information on the various developments that have taken place in Somalia since last year. It accurately reflects the deteriorating economic and humanitarian situation, as well as the dire need of tens of thousands of Somalis for speedy humanitarian assistance to save them from certain death. In several paragraphs, the report stresses that dire poverty, the lack of employment opportunities and the total destruction of infrastructures and social services cannot be addressed in the absence of appropriate material and financial resources. The report states that many programmes linked to the Transitional National Government have obtained no assistance from international donors, including United Nations agencies.

In the light of the importance of achieving peace in Somalia and of preserving its sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Syrian Arab Republic is following with satisfaction the efforts of the Transitional National Government in Somalia. We call on all factions and sectors in that country to cooperate with the Government through a constructive national dialogue aimed at restoring peace, security and stability to Somalia. Syria appeals to all donor States to provide all forms of assistance to that Government in order to enable it to revitalize the institutions that were demolished in the civil war and to rebuild the country's infrastructure in order to achieve normalcy in the lives of the Somali people.

Syria believes that a Security Council mission to evaluate the situation on the ground and to prepare specific proposals would help to ensure a more effective role for the United Nations and the Security Council in helping the Government to extend its control over all Somalia. We believe that such assistance includes the deployment of an international peace-building mission to help the Transitional National Government, which would make a real and effective contribution and demonstrate the international community's resolve to end the crisis in Somalia.

The Somali people has suffered for a very long time. The Security Council must not stop at merely hearing reports and statements or at adopting resolutions that remain dead letter and unimplemented on the ground. The time has come to act stoutly by adopting positions that can attain the fundamental objectives and fulfil the task of the Security Council: the maintenance of international peace and security throughout the world, including Somalia.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Qatar. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Al-Nasser (Qatar) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I should like to extend to you, Sir, my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month and to wish you every success in your work. I also thank your predecessor, the Ambassador of France, who presided over the work of the Council last month.

The Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr. Galaydh, has honoured the Council with his presence today, and we welcome him.

The people of Somalia have suffered much as a result of 10 years of civil war. International military intervention was needed to restore peace. We regret that such international efforts have not succeeded in realizing the Somali people's search for peace. Some political forces in Somalia have largely ensured the failure of any attempt by international forces to establish peace and create a coalition Government that would include all political factions.

Following the Somalia National Peace Conference, held at Arta, Djibouti, in which the Government of Qatar participated, we saw the formation of the Transitional National Government (TNG), led by President Abdikassim Salad Hassan. Now, we all look forward to supporting that young Government; we hope it will be able to establish unity and extend its authority throughout Somali territory, thus serving as the sole legitimate Government. That would restore peace and security, and, under its new leadership, the Government would be able to bring together all parties and factions and convince them to join in a governing coalition.

We know that the task facing President Abdikassim Salad Hassan — the restoration of peace and security — is an extremely difficult one in view of the present situation in Somalia. The long civil war has had negative social repercussions in Somalia, including the fragmentation of civil society. It is no easy matter to consolidate national unity in Somalia, especially given the meagre resources available to the Government.

Somalia still needs the international community's support for its fledgling Government. We consider it important that, through the Security Council and the United Nations in general, the international community should come to that Government's assistance. We must take the first step, asking the Representative of the Secretary-General to examine the situation in Somalia and then closely to follow developments in all their aspects. The task is also to ensure coordination among neighbouring countries and among relevant regional and international organizations.

My delegation urges the Security Council to call for respect for the territorial integrity of Somalia and to secure commitments from other countries to refrain from all interference in Somalia's internal affairs and from encouraging secessionist factions whose aim is to undermine the security and stability of Somalia. My delegation believes that if the status quo continues and if the international community fails to support the new Government, Somalia could become a haven for fugitives trying to evade justice. Indeed, we must eliminate all such sanctuaries and safe havens. That — like what is now taking place in Afghanistan — would be painful for the entire world.

I wish in conclusion to express our hope that the Security Council will shoulder its responsibility to return the fraternal country of Somalia to normalcy, and that it will make every possible effort to send a mission to that country to report on progress towards the restoration of peace and to help Somalia become a valued member of the international community.

The President: I thank the representative of Qatar for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, His Excellency Mr. Mokhtar Lamani, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite Mr. Lamani to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lamani (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, Sir, I take this opportunity to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We are confident that, under your able leadership, the Council will successfully complete the tasks before it. I wish also to thank you for convening this open meeting, which will help heighten the international community's concern with respect to the situation in Somalia. We hope that debates of this kind will continue, because they enhance the transparency of the United Nations and of the Council's decision-making process.

The international community warmly welcomes the progress along the path of peace and national reconciliation in Somalia that has come about thanks to the perseverance and commendable efforts of international and regional organizations and of neighbouring States, notably the Republic of Djibouti, whose active role in the quest for a lasting political settlement of the crisis in Somalia is well known.

We reaffirm our conviction that the United Nations should continue its search for lasting peace and stability in Somalia, in cooperation with the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, as well as with other organizations. Here, let me make particular mention of the tireless and praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and of the important role he is playing in this process.

We agree with the view expressed in the report of the Secretary-General (S/2001/963) on the need for a mechanism that would facilitate a uniform approach and exchange of information among all outside parties with an interest in a lasting peace in Somalia. We also welcome the Secretary-General's proposal on establishing a committee of friends of Somalia to focus on ways and means of drawing attention to Somalia's needs in the area of national reconciliation as well as to help mobilize resources for rehabilitation and development. We agree with the Secretary-General that the peace process in Somalia needs support, that the rule of law should be established and that national political and judicial institutions should be restored.

As the report says, the security situation in Somalia has not improved and remains, by and large, the same as it had been previously and that it has thus

not been possible to deploy a peace-building office in the country. But it is our view that a tangible United Nations presence in the area could help overcome the present obstacles.

Success in the process towards peace and national reconciliation has led to the formation of a parliament, the Transitional National Assembly, with the participation of all the country's factions and views, and to the appointment of a President, a Prime Minister and a Government. We affirm our support for the efforts of the Transitional National Government to promote the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction in Somalia, and we believe that the international community should provide the assistance needed to help rebuild infrastructure and administrative and other institutions.

It is indeed fortunate that His Excellency Mr. Ali Khalif Galaydh, the Prime Minister of Somalia, is present at today's meeting and that he had the opportunity to put Somalia's case before the Security Council. We believe that we are all obliged to help support the efforts of the Somali Government to regain control over the country and to put an end to the tragic situation stemming from the civil and tribal wars that have long afflicted the Somali people. In this respect, we are convinced that the primary and ultimate responsibility for the establishment of peace and stability in Somalia lies with the Somali people and its leaders. Support must be provided, however, by the international community if such efforts are to succeed.

The people of Somalia have suffered immensely and for a long time. It is high time that the international community assumed its responsibility in preserving international peace and security by providing humanitarian assistance, in view of the deterioration of the humanitarian situation of the Somali people. It is our hope that the United Nations agencies and its international partners will pursue and expand their humanitarian activities in Somalia to help alleviate the suffering of the Somali people.

The world is undergoing turbulent times today. Humanity is ill at ease, racked by war, terrorism, underdevelopment, religious intolerance, tension and instability. We all feel the upheavals in international life. Our international community is seeking to rearrange and reorder its priorities. This is why we say we should not postpone solutions to any problem, because issues of peace and security are serious, urgent and interrelated. Thus, we believe that the situation in Somalia demands the immediate intervention of the international community, through the United Nations, to support the national institutions in Somalia, so that peace and stability can prevail and lead to economic and social development.

In conclusion, the Organization of the Islamic Conference reiterates the need for the international community to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and unity of Somalia. These are principles that have been emphasized by all the Islamic Conferences, be they ministerial or at the summit level.

The President: I thank Mr. Lamani for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Iraq. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Aldouri (Iraq) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to express to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month. We are confident that your wisdom and skill will ensure success for your presidency. I cannot fail to express our appreciation to the Ambassador of France for his presidency of the Security Council last month.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his report on the issue under consideration today, and to his Representative for the statement he made this morning. We would also like to express our appreciation to the sisterly country of Djibouti for the efforts made on behalf of our brothers the Somali people to overcome the crisis in Somalia and for creating the necessary environment to set up the Transitional National Government (TNG). Finally, I am duty-bound to welcome the Prime Minister of the Transitional National Government and the delegation accompanying him, as they represent the State of Somalia.

We take part in the Security Council's meeting today to express our support to sisterly Somalia and its people. We also express, together with all other Arab States, our concern that Somalia become again a united, fully sovereign and independent State able to defend the vital interests of the Somali people, following the attempts by evil forces — external and internal — to tear apart the social and political fabric of its society and destroy its economic infrastructure.

We consider our support for the Transitional National Government a priority for achieving unity and comprehensive reconciliation with a view to re-establishing stability and security and reconstructing the country. We urge the Security Council in particular, and the United Nations in general, as well as the international community, to ensure that this matter is taken up seriously, proceeding from the purposes and principles of the Charter.

Such attention may solve some problems in Somalia. However, translating concern into programmes requires large financial allocations. We hope that Arab States will be able to cover some of these financial needs. In this regard, however, we would recall the responsibility of the international community to stand in solidarity with other States and to provide financial assistance to Somalia, when required, in order to enable it to fulfil its duty towards its people. Allow me to repeat our call for a redoubling of efforts to provide immediate assistance so as to enable Somalia to reconstruct and rehabilitate its society and re-establish stability and security.

The appointment by the Secretary-General of a Representative for Somalia responsible for following the developments of the Somali situation in all its aspects, in coordination with the Transitional National Government, the neighbouring States and regional and international organizations, will surely help solve some of the principal problems in Somalia, particularly those relating to the parties that remain outside the circle of national unity. It should also help in reinforcing State institutions, through the provision of financial and technical assistance from specialized agencies and funds.

The Government of Somalia, today more than at any time in the past, must be dealt with through an honest approach that is far removed from the maze of international political sensitivities, international polarization and narrow interests. Dealing with Somalia at the international level, particularly at the United Nations, in a neutral, unbiased and objective manner, distanced from the sensitivities of the recent past — and we trust that it shall be thus — will provide impetus towards unifying Somali society, following a comprehensive reconciliation. We believe that the current Transitional National Government in Somalia is working towards this objective.

Giving the Prime Minister of Somalia the opportunity to speak to the Security Council today and, indeed, the very holding of this open debate to allow Member States, and Arab States in particular, to express their points of view, are in themselves positive developments. We hope that the Council will continue dealing with similar humanitarian situations in the same way, the solution of which may well contribute to international peace and security.

After having heard the statements made by some members of the Security Council today, we felt a clear sense of hesitation. The reasons cited call, we believe, rather for Council's intervention, not reluctance and hesitation in taking a position. As the Ambassador of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya said this morning, insisting on the need to hesitate will not help to solve Somalia's problem, but merely add to its deterioration. We therefore express the hope that the Council will adopt a more positive position so as to assist the Transitional National Government and the Somali people to overcome their problems and difficulties.

The President: I thank the representative of Iraq for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Kenya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Jalang'o (Kenya): At the outset, my delegation would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. Our salutations also go to your predecessor, Ambassador Levitte of France.

Allow me to take this opportunity to address the Council on the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia, which was presented this morning by his Representative. This comprehensive report is most welcome to my delegation. We also express our appreciation for the detailed briefing presented this morning by the Prime Minister of the Transitional National Government (TNG) on the developments in Somalia and on ways and means of assisting Somalia.

My delegation wholeheartedly welcomes the TNG back to the fold of the international community to play its role on behalf of the people of Somalia, so long denied of that very important and vital opportunity.

As the Ambassador of Ethiopia mentioned a few minutes ago, Kenya as a neighbour of Somalia, also knows only too well the problems Somalia has gone through since 1991. We have shared Somalia's pain and

tears as both a neighbour and a friend. We therefore continue to support all the ongoing peace processes, including the Intergovernmental Authority on Development's (IGAD) task of implementing the mechanisms agreed upon at the Khartoum summit held in November 2000.

My delegation also joins the appeal that was made a few minutes ago by the Ambassador of Ethiopia for immediate humanitarian assistance for the thousands of refugees in neighbouring countries, including Kenya.

Many efforts have been expended through IGAD, the Organization of African Unity, the European Union, the United Nations and others to bring about a lasting solution to the Somalia problem, caused by the lack of central administration during the last 10 years. At long last, we see hope exemplified in the Transitional National Government of Somalia; and it is in this vein that we welcome among us, after very many years, the Prime Minister and head of the Transitional National Government of Somalia and the Permanent Representative of Somalia.

The Secretary-General notes in his report that

> "the security situation did not make it possible to deploy a peace-building office in the country." (*S/2001/963, para. 72*)

However, my delegation welcomes the feasibility of setting up a Committee of Friends of Somalia, as noted in paragraph 66 of the report. As a member State of IGAD, Kenya will be ready to participate in the work of that Committee with other members of the IGAD Partners Forum.

Finally, my delegation calls upon the United Nations to redouble its efforts to assist the people and the Government of Somalia to return to normalcy as soon as possible through the establishment of workable national institutions, security and legal organs; and above all to facilitate economic recovery and development.

The President: I thank the representative of Kenya for his kind words addressed to me.

I now give the floor to Mr. David Stephen to respond to comments made and questions raised in the course of our meeting.

Mr. Stephen: I will refer briefly to a number of topics that were referred to me by members of the Council in the course of the debate.

The representative of Mauritius asked about the flow of arms, and whether we had any estimate on whether or not the flow of arms into the country had increased. The mandate and resources of my Office, which is located in Nairobi, not in Somalia, unfortunately have not allowed us to monitor the flow of arms into and out of the country. Allegations are made from time to time about arms coming into the country. Our practice is to urge those making those allegations to refer them to the committee set up under resolution 733 (1992). That is, I am afraid, all we can do as a political office with our existing mandate and resources.

However, members of the Council will note that in paragraph 54 of the report, where we note that President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya ordered a ban on trade between Somalia and Kenya on 28 July, one of the reasons for this ban was, according to reports, the President's concern about the flow of arms into Kenya from Somalia. It is very clear that as conflict escalates, arms become more valuable in the country. But then, when there is little conflict it seems that arms flow out of the country. This is one reason why the neighbouring countries, as members will have noted, are very concerned about the question of the flow of arms from Somalia.

Both the representative of Mauritius and the President, speaking in his national capacity, raised the question of security. The representative of Mauritius asked if I could give some estimate. As members know, security is completely different from the political activities of the Secretariat, and I would not presume to offer a professional view. But, speaking of Mogadishu, I visited the city in March one week before the taking of the hostages, and my impression at the time was that there was a good deal of tension in the city. I was then unable, for security reasons, to visit Mogadishu for nearly six months, but I returned for a brief visit on 7 September, and my impression — for what it is worth — is that the city was much less tense and that progress had been made in terms of policing during those months.

The meagre response of donors to the Transitional National Government was raised by a number of representatives and members of the Council, and the representative of Bangladesh specifically asked if I would comment on this. Obviously, this question should be directed to donors; I cannot speak on behalf of donors. But I think that there was, at the beginning of this process, a rather low expectation on the part of

donors. The experience of donors in Somalia in the past had not encouraged them to think that this was a venture that would be likely to succeed. But I believe that a number of donors are now engaging with the Transitional National Government, and that some assistance is in the pipeline.

Finally, the representative of Mali and the representative of Bangladesh asked about the group of friends. This, as the report makes clear, is a matter for further consultation. There is no blueprint. No scheme is being laid down, and I am sure that the Secretary-General will take account of the comments and remarks that have been made in the course of the debate, including the fact that various members have offered to participate in this activity, as he begins the consultations.

But it is designed for two basic purposes. One is to assist in the development of a uniformity of approach, which has been identified as one of the problems in the Somalia context — in other words, so that countries with an interest can see the arguments and understand the viewpoints of other countries; and, secondly, simply as a question of exchange of information in other contexts. I am thinking of Angola, which I think the Prime Minister of Somalia mentioned, but also in Central America — El Salvador and Guatemala — the exchange of information has been a very valuable function of such groups of friends, or friends of the Secretary-General, as they have been termed.

I think that is all.

The President: I thank Mr. Stephen for the clarifications he has provided.

I give the floor to the Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr. Ali Khalif Galaydh.

Mr. Galaydh (Somalia): I should very much like to thank the members of the Council and the other representatives, who have been very generous and warm in welcoming me and my delegation to this open debate on Somalia. The very kind words and the ideas on how best to help in bringing about lasting peace in Somalia have been very uplifting. Now we know that just about everyone in the Council is a friend of Somalia, so if all of its members are going to be reconstituted as friends of Somalia, I think that would be most welcome.

I should like to address three or four points that really have been central to the discussion. The first one is the issue of the post-conflict peace-building mission. We know that Somalia suffers from what is called the Somali syndrome. It goes back to 1993. The people who authored those events are the very same people who are still the warlords, who are outside the Arta process. They are the very same people whom we are being urged to engage in dialogue. We would like to, but we would very much like the Council to be aware that what happened in October 1993 was not the doing of the Somali people. It was not the doing of the Transitional National Government or of anyone associated with the Transitional National Government. It was the work of the warlords. They are the ones who are still hampering peace in Somalia. From what I have heard today, people want to hear their ideas. If they had any ideas about peace and reconciliation in this country, they would have been forthcoming some time in the last decade or more.

We are caught up in a vicious circle, because if, supposedly, the security arrangements in Somalia and Mogadishu are not sufficient and not adequate to allow for the sending of United Nations personnel, then there will be no chance of promoting peace, security and stability in Somalia, because the donors will stay away. There will not be any meaningful assistance for reconstruction and development, and therefore we are caught up in this vicious circle.

I would like to submit to those who are a bit nervous about the safety and security of United Nations personnel — and we agree with them 100 per cent — that we have to strike a balance between the safety and security of a few United Nations personnel, important as their lives are, and the destiny of a whole country. Let me add that Somalia should not be judged any differently from the way other countries have been, and are being, judged.

Somalia, despite the Somali syndrome, is a Member of the United Nations. It has been a member of all of the regional and subregional organizations, and all we ask is to be treated like the other countries that have these post-conflict problems. The United Nations has not abstained or shied away from sending peace-building missions or peacekeeping missions to Sierra Leone, to Liberia, to East Timor, to Kosovo, to Bosnia — why, then, is Somalia being singled out for the very stringent, all-embracing criteria of total safety and security? This mystifies us.

What a good number of Council members have suggested broadly, as a way around this impasse, is the dispatch of a fact-finding mission to Mogadishu and to Somalia. It is an important issue not only for us, the Somali people, but also for the region and for international peace and security. As the French Ambassador said, it is not only a question of one mission being sent at some stage; there is a need for a frequent assessment of the security situation. Only then will the Council be informed adequately.

I should like to comment briefly on the issue of national reconciliation in Somalia. The Arta peace process was the brainchild of President Ismail Omar Guelleh. It has succeeded for one reason: because it was different from the 12 others that preceded it. The 12 others were mainly tailor-made for the warlords, for self-appointed characters who really did not have the mandate to speak on behalf of the Somali people, or their clans or sub-clans.

The Arta process was successful because it was a Somali process. It was centred on the deliberations of Somali civil society. There is no alternative to that.

I want to be very clear about this: there is no other game in town. If anybody has any other ideas, we would like to listen to them. It will not help to say, "We are going to have an open-door policy. Every Somali is entitled to be asked for his or her opinion". That is all well and good, but Somalia has gone through 10 long years, and the international community has been trying desperately to impose a solution on us. It will not work — period. There is no alternative. I suggest that members of this Council accept the facts on the ground: no warlord or group of warlords can bring peace and stability to Somalia. No couple of clan elders, or people with fancy résumés, can bring about peace and reconciliation in Somalia. The Somali people have spoken. They gathered in Arta — they spent six months there. That is the only game in town.

If there are those who think they can impose a solution on Somalia, they had better think twice, because that would be a futile exercise. If there are those who think that, because they have long borders with Somalia, a long, troubled history with Somalia or vital national interests in Somalia, they are guaranteed an entry into the Somali story and a role in determining its outcome, they can take their show elsewhere. That will not work in Somalia.

We welcome the friends of Somalia. We welcome the help of the international community, because we have been unable to measure up to this historic task. We have inflicted deep wounds on ourselves. We lost almost two generations, and we have no guarantee that we can even save the generation or two to come. We welcome the friends of Somalia. We welcome any positive, constructive suggestions to help us. You, Mr. President, have afforded us this opportunity to share with you our ideas, concerns and apprehensions. We feel that this Council should be treated more respectfully in terms of being given supposed facts produced by so-called experts.

In a great example of guilt by association, the representative of a Member of the United Nations, our neighbour Ethiopia, said that we knew that Al Qaeda had operated in Somalia and, on top of that, that there were even components of the TNG that were extremist — that is, they were in bed with Al Qaeda. Those are very serious allegations. Does Ethiopia have the facts? We heard all of these innuendoes. We heard all the self-serving assertions. We would like to see the facts. We will not shy away from discharging our responsibilities to our own people and to the international community. We heard of ships being sent from landlocked Afghanistan to Somali ports bringing arms and the Al Qaeda leadership. Those are preposterous assertions. They do not help our case.

I do not want to engage in mud-slinging in this Council; I feel that that would not be appropriate. But I would be less than responsible if I did not respond to the assertions that the TNG is in bed with Al Qaeda and fundamentalists. We would like to do everything possible to shoulder our responsibility in accordance with resolution 1373 (2001). We want to do it, not to help anybody else, but in our own self-defence — we are not doing anybody a favour. And if we have to do it with our bare hands, we will do so. But we would like the international community to be better informed. Those who are pretending to be in the know — the supposed cognoscenti — are not offering a way out of this difficulty, this global menace. And pointing fingers at Member States for self-serving purposes will not help anybody. It will not help this Council.

The call for humanitarian assistance to the blighted Somalis is most welcome. The best foreign aid for Somalis would be rainfall, but that has not been forthcoming for almost two or three seasons. We are not exaggerating: the situation is very difficult

Coupled with that is the fact that the great majority of the Somali people are pastoralists and rely on livestock, and we cannot export the livestock because of the fear of Rift Valley fever. This combination of drought and the inability to export livestock has been very damaging to the entire livelihood of a large percentage of the Somali people.

I would like to say one or two words about the issue of economic and humanitarian assistance, and what has been given to Somalia. According to the General Assembly's humanitarian assistance report, Somalia has supposedly received about $100 million in the past 12 months. More than $50 million has supposedly been provided by United Nations agencies. Security is the most important issue for the country and for the Somali people, yet we are told that less than $1 million has been provided for security — for police training, for salaries or even for food for the police and security forces. We find that a little baffling, because if security is the key to bringing about peace and stability to Somalia, and if the international community has given $100 million, we would have thought that at least a good part of it would have been expended on security — on the police force, or on information-gathering, for example, to combat international terrorism. That is what has been done in the past 12 months.

In all honesty, we do not expect much to come from that source. We have been pushing for that, and in all of our discussions with donors and with the United Nations we have always said that the best way to help us is to help establish the police and security forces. Yet we have not received much, as indicated in the report to which I referred earlier.

How we can shoulder our responsibility in accordance with resolution 1373 (2001)? I have had some discussions with the Ambassadors of the United Kingdom, France and Russia. We would like to have bilateral discussions. If the European Union, or countries acting bilaterally, or the United Nations can help us with that, that is where our first priority lies.

Our second priority is in the area of national reconciliation. Yes, the people we are dealing with are warlords. We are dealing with people who have no idea what is to be done for Somalia and who have no vision for Somalia. Nonetheless, we would like to sit down with them, but nobody can impose a solution on us.

As for what we have received in the form of assistance from a neighbour, there are, despite the allegations, no arms coming by ship or by air; the only arms that are coming to Somalia are coming by truck, and they are coming from one source. It is not only small arms, unfortunately. It hurts me to say this: landmines are being planted in urban areas. If that is the gift; the signature, of a friend, it might be an oxymoron. If friends are for that, it hurts. Those weapons kill indiscriminately, mostly civilians.

I would like to conclude by thanking you very much, Mr. President, for affording us this opportunity. This has enabled us to know who has good will for Somalia, who are the friends of Somalia and who are not the friends of Somalia.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of Somalia for his concluding statement.

As I said at the outset of this meeting, it has been a Council presidency priority for Ireland to ensure a long overdue open discussion on Somalia. We have, I believe, had a comprehensive and useful exchange of views today. In the coming days, members of the Security Council will work on a draft presidential statement, which will draw on the full discussion that we have just had. It is my hope that we will be in a position to finalize the presidential statement early next week and that the statement will demonstrate the commitment of the Security Council to support Somalia and the Somali people.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.